DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 172 758 IR 007 375

AUTHOR	Seya, Pierre Thizier; Yao, Faustin Kouadjo
TITLE	Television for the Rural African Village: Studies of Audiences and Impact in the Ivory Coast.
INSTITUTION	Stanford Univ., Calif. Inst. for Communication Research.
PUB DATE	Oct 77
NOTE	66p.; For related documents, see IR 007 325, IR 007 333-334, IR 007 339, IR 007 347, IR 007 349, IR 007 363, IR 007 368, IR 007 370, IR 007 374, and IR 007 377
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Adult Education Programs; Broadcast Television; Community Attitudes; *Developing Nations; Educational Development; *Educational Television; Nonformal Education; Program Attitudes; *Rural Education; Technological Advancement; Television Surveys
IDENTIFIERS	*Ivory Coast

ABSTRACT

The two surveys described in this report were conducted for the Out of School Television (OSTV) unit in order to learn more about the context in which its series of weekly programs for rural adults (Tele Pour Tous or Television for Everybody--TVE) operates, and to study audience reactions to a specific series. Individual interviews with selected villagers in 30 villages provided data on patterns of mass media use for the first study, which probed such areas as radio ownership, radio access, content of radio listening, and information channels, television, and newspapers and printed material in the context of village life. Findings show that, while radio is still the dominant medium, television is playing an increasing role in village media habits, and the print media is also in active use. The second study focused on the impact of the TVE series on rural housing, and animators in 11 villages each interviewed 15 villagers who had seen all of the programs. Information sought included respondents' attitude towards the TVE programs; their trust in the programs; their attitudes towards traditional, adapted, and western housing; and their attitudes toward financing policy for adapted housing and perception of the responsibility for modernization of the village. Data and references are included. (BBM)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED172758

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

TELEVISION FOR THE RURAL AFRICAN VILLAGE: STUDIES OF AUDIENCES AND IMPACT IN THE IVORY COAST

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Everett M. Rogers

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

By

Pierre Thizier Seya
Faustin Kouadjo Yao

Institute for Communication Research
Stanford University
Stanford, Ca. 94305

October, 1977

IR000375

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

INTRODUCTION.....i

PART I: MEDIA SURVEY (by Faustin Kouadjo Yao)

1. The Hypothesis of the Media Survey.....1
2. Methodology.....2
   A. Variables.....2
   B. Sampling.....3
3. The Results.....6
   A. Radio Ownership.....6
   B. Radio Access.....9
   C. Content of Radio Listening.....10
   D. Information Channels in the Village.....14
   E. TV as a Medium in Village Life.....17
   F. Newspapers and Printed Material in the Village....23
4. Conclusion.....26

PART II: THE HOUSING SURVEY (by Pierre Thizier Seya)

1. Presentation of the Programs Series.....27
   A. Description.....27
   B. Objectives.....27
2. Presentation of the Study.....28
   A. Objectives.....28
   B. Design.....28
   C. Sample.....29
   D. Data Collection.....31
3. The Results.....32
   A. Attitude Toward TVE.....32
   B. Attitude Toward Housing.....33
   C. Attitude Toward the Financing Policy for Adapted Rural Housing.....40
   D. Nature of the Villagers' Role in Village Modernization.....43
   E. The Application of the Housing Program's Advice...46
4. Discussion.....47
   A. Inconsistency in the Rural TV Viewer's Attitude about Housing.....47

Table of Contents (Cont.)

B. Who Should be Responsible for the Renovation of Rural Housing?.....51

5. Summary.....51

6. Recommendations.....53

REFERENCES.....55

INTRODUCTION

As the Ivory Coast undertook a large scale technology system for their primary schools, it began to recognize the need for a monitoring device to check on the process of the ongoing innovation. Since 1971 television has not only entered the majority of primary schools but also entered large numbers of rural villages where television would otherwise not have arrived for years. The Evaluation Unit was created to monitor the growth of the primary and out-of-school systems. In 1975, Evaluation got its first Ivorian head, and a number of Ivorian researchers began to work in the unit. The present report contains the results of two surveys for the Out-of-School unit which produces a weekly series of television programs for rural adults called Tele Pour Tous or TV for Everybody (TVE).

TVE has for its primary purpose to inform its audiences of certain important problem areas related to economics and family life of the rural and, to a lesser extent, the urban adult. Secondarily, TVE proposes to influence audience attitudes and to recommend action where it is appropriate and possible.

In order to understand better the context within which TVE was operating, the Evaluation Unit wished to learn more about the various channels of communication that rural villagers use to inform themselves. The first survey looks into this in 30 villages. The findings are consistent with the hypothesis that rural and urban areas are not two but one reality, bound together by close economic relationships and interpenetrated by a communication network whose main strand is radio, but, in the approximately 25 percent of villages where there are primary schools and TV sets, increasingly television. The cultural effects are not calculated as yet, but the reader will find that there are a majority of villagers whose lives are touched by the modern media and their mostly urban oriented messages.

The second survey deals with a specific series of TVE programs on rural housing which were broadcast in 1976, from March to April. As with the first survey, it is descriptive; its purpose is to provide the Out-of-School Unit with information about its audience that might make program series more adapted to rural needs. Since the sample from 11 villages were all faithful participants in the TV programs and discussions that followed, we are not in a position to say that the results are generalizable to the population. However, the findings are a "best case" argument about how a typical TVE series affects its core audience.

I. MEDIA SURVEY

Apart from some partial information from the Ivorian Public Opinion Institute through a survey conducted in March, 1976, after Tele Pour Tous had been on the air for more than two years, no data were available about the communication structure in the rural areas nor about mass media use patterns and characteristics of the rural audiences. In order to help understand better how some of the TV series of Extra-Scolaire were impacting on rural audiences, three surveys were carried out in 1976: the media survey, with which we will deal in this section, the housing survey, treated in the following section, and one on credit and saving, not reported here.

The media survey is divided into two parts, the first to gather information about equipment in each village. For this, only the village chief and PDCI delegate (political leader) were interviewed. The second part, which will solely concern us here, consisted of individual interviews with selected villagers on their patterns of mass media use.

1. The Hypotheses of the Media Survey

Although no highly refined hypotheses were generated before the survey, the following were working hypotheses which guided the construction of the survey instrument:

1) Social and demographic factors will affect the amount of exposure to the mass media in rural areas. From previous social research in the Ivory Coast we could make certain assumptions about how media matterns might be affected by social structures. For instance, we assumed that those with a political role, whether modern (PDCI delegate) or traditional (village or neighborhood) would have a greater

exposure to the modern media than do ordinary citizens. We also assumed from previous work in TV villages (Grant and Seya, 1976, for example) that levels of status, profession and schooling would relate to media use, the higher the standing in each being related to greater use of the media.

(2) The kinds of communication channels (both mass and interpersonal) will vary according to social and demographic factors in the rural population. We assumed here, for example, that different segments of the population (political leaders, different professions) would use different communication channels (mass and interpersonal) for a variety of needs. The pattern of use was again the focus of our attention. We did not undertake to measure the impact of use in this survey (other surveys report on this latter aspect).

(3) The same social and demographic factors will affect both the content and the specific kinds (radio, TV, newspaper) of media exposure. More specific references to hypotheses and their testing with the survey findings will be found in the results section.

2. Methodology

A. Variables: Some of the variables included in the survey have important limitations that should be pointed out:

Region: In the survey, region is based on the administrative division of the school system (Direction Regionale de l'Enseignement) and is not an empirically based economic, ethnic, economic nor agricultural/geographic division. Although some overlap of the educational divisions may occur with other more important regional differences, this is a weak variable in the survey.

Socio-political status: This variable tried to distinguish among levels of influence in the village, including village chief, neighborhood chief, political appointee (party delegate), religious leader and ordinary

citizens. Although the definition of each of these roles varies from region to region, the great variability of the role of the religious leader, for example, makes this and other roles less important as explanatory variables in this survey.

Media access and exposure: Some precision in describing media use patterns was lost because we were not able to distinguish between physical access and media use through an intermediary. Many people who may own or have some right to use a medium do not understand French, and yet there is often someone to interpret the message. How precisely this kind of two-step flow works is not clear from our data, and a more exact study is needed to describe the process.

B. Sampling: The broadly descriptive purpose of the survey dictated a less rigorous sampling procedure. The Evaluation Unit has at its disposal the help of a number of former primary school inspectors who now help in the regular gathering of data. They are known as ACRI or Agents Responsible for the Gathering of Information (within the ETV system). Ten ACRI from various parts of the country were guided in selecting three villages each where Tele Pour Tous groups were meeting, and which were more or less easily accessible by car. Although the ACRI have been given several training seminars in conducting surveys and gathering information, the methodology they follow when in the field is certainly not presumed to be perfect.

Within each village the ACRI were told to choose a purposive quota sample consisting of six men and four women with a distribution of age over a range from young (15-25 years) to middle (26-45) to older people (46+). How did the results of this procedure work out?

First, because ETV schools are more densely concentrated in the center and

south of the country, the villages reflect this dispersion, with 20 of the 28 villages surveyed coming from the Abidjan and Bouake school regions, a few from the North and West, and none from the East (cf. Table One). The stratification according to age and sex within villages, however, seemed to follow suggested lines. But the entire sample is biased in the direction of probable media users in rural areas, a majority of somewhat older men, mostly Christian and coming from the better off economic regions of Center and South.

A number of further remarks might be made concerning the sample, but we will present one table that will summarize much of the sample. The totals at the bottom of the rows will give the reader the best summary of the major demographic and social variables. First of all, Table One shows the bias of villages toward the Center (Bouake) and the South (Abidjan). The quota sample according to sex was biased somewhat more than intended toward males (about 7 in 10 instead of 6 in 10). Although this does not represent the population as a whole, it does tend to represent the dominant presence of men in work and social life. There are a number of problems relating to interviewing women in rural areas that tend to reflect the social position of women in rural society.

The slight over-representation of the oldest age group (46 years and above) may simply reflect the bias of the interviewers in choosing their sample, but it probably reflects two other important social factors in rural village life. Among the 15-24 year olds there is a higher migration rate to urban areas and a lower one among older persons. Secondly, most rural villages still have a social system that places power very much in the hands of the older males in the society. Although ownership and access to different media may not be affected by this bias, program content might well be, and examination according to age may reveal some differences of interest to us.

	Sex			Age				Profession				Schooling					Political Activity		
	M	F	Total	15-25	26-45	46+	Total	Farmers	Housewives	Others	Total	Illiterate	Read and Write	Primary	Post-Primary	Total	Polit. Leaders	Citizens	Tota
Abidjan	(58)	(22)	(80)	(24)	(28)	(28)	(80)	(48)	(23)	(9)	(80)	(53)	(15)	(9)	(2)	(80)	(5)	(75)	(8(
	20%	8%	28%	8%	9%	9%	28%	16%	8%	3%	27%	18%	5%	3%	1%	27%	2%	25%	27%
Bouake	(84)	(36)	(120)	(40)	(37)	(52)	(189)	(78)	(39)	(12)	(129)	(99)	(16)	(13)	(2)	(130)	(24)	(105)	(12
	29%	12%	42%	14%	13%	18%	45%	26%	13%	4%	43%	33%	5%	4%	1%	44%	8%	35%	43
Daloa	(20)	(9)	(29)	(6)	(10)	(14)	(30)	(18)	(9)	(2)	(29)	(21)	(3)	(4)	(2)	(30)	(9)	(21)	(3
	7%	3%	10%	2%	3%	5%	10%	6%	3%	1%	10%	7%	1%	1%	1%	10%	3%	7%	10
Korhogo	(21)	(9)	(30)	(7)	(8)	(15)	(30)	(20)	(9)	(0)	(29)	(27)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(28)	(5)	(25)	(3
	7%	3%	10%	2%	3%	5%	10%	7%	3%	-	10%	9%	-	-	0	9%	2%	8%	10
Man	(21)	(9)	(30)	(9)	(8)	(13)	(30)	(20)	(9)	(1)	(30)	(19)	(9)	(1)	(1)	(30)	(3)	(27)	(3
	7%	3%	10%	3%	3%	5%	10%	7%	3%	-	10%	6%	3%	-	-	10%	1%	9%	10
Totals	204	(85)	(289)	(806)	(91)	(122)	(299)	(184)	(89)	(24)	(297)	219	(44)	(27)	(7)	(298)	(56)	(243)	(29
	71%	29%	100%	30%	31%	42%	100%	62%	30%	8%	100%	73%	15%	9%	2%	100%	19%	81%	100

11

Table 1 - Cross-Tabulation of School Regions by Sex, Age, Profession, Level of Schooling and Socio-Political Status (Absolute Figures in Parentheses).

12

Education levels are probably higher than average because of a number of factors, including, of course, the underrepresentation of women and population from the North. Twenty-six percent of the sample claim to be able to at least read and write French, the official language. The employment pattern or professions as it is called here represents the rural areas quite well. Farmers are dominant in the sample (62%) while the women-housewives form the other block (30%). The remaining 8 percent are a combination of a variety of non-farm rural workers.

Finally we have grouped our sample of social-political status into just two categories: the first, called political leaders, include village and neighborhood chiefs, while the second includes religious leaders, who have a changing role in rural society, along with ordinary citizens.

Can we then conclude anything from such a sample? Taking into account the biases we have noted, we take the position that the survey probably over-represents the media users and the patterns of exposure to the media. We would also suggest, however, that although elsewhere the degree of exposure may be lower (in more remote villages and regions), there is no compelling reason to say that the patterns should differ from the sample we have.

3. The Results

With the previous description of the sample and its characteristics, we can ask ourselves how these characteristics affect the media use patterns of the rural population. We will begin with an inventory of media ownership.

A. Radio Ownership

First let us examine the distribution of radio set ownership according to the different regions in the sample. Table Two indicates that overall in the sample there is a predominance of people who own radio sets (55%) over those who do not (45%). The only reversal of this overall figure within

the regions is that of Korhogo where set owners are a distinct minority (only 5 in 30 interviewed). We may also note that set ownership is above 54 percent in all of the other regions.

Radio set at home	Abidjan	Bouake	Daloa	Korhogo	Man	Total
Yes	(46)	(73)	(19)	(5)	(20)	(163)
	15%	24%	6%	2%	7%	55%
No	(34)	(56)	(10)	(25)	(10)	(135)
	11%	19%	3%	8%	3%	45%
Total	(80)	(129)	(29)	(30)	(30)	(298)
	26%	43%	9%	10%	10%	100%

Table 2 - Cross-Tabulation of Radio Set at Home by DRE (Absolute Frequencies in Parentheses).

We next wished to examine the relationship between ownership of a radio set and some of the characteristics of the sample. Table 3 shows the distributions of this variable according to sex, age, profession, schooling and political status. Although the majority of both men and women claim ownership of a radio set, the males have a slightly higher average (39% yes and only 32% no) than women (15% yes and 14% no). The difference is not significant. Again with age, although the younger (15-25) and the older (46+) age groups had a higher level of ownership than the middle group (26-45), the difference was not significant. Employment shows no significant relationship to set ownership either.

When we come to the schooling variable, we had several reasons for thinking that set ownership might be related to the amount of education. First, since the majority of programs are broadcast in French, it would be expected that those who have more education and are therefore better in

	Sex			Age				Profession				Schooling					Political Activity		
	M	F	Total	15-25	26-45	46+	Total	Planters	Housewives	Other	Total	Illiterate	Read and Write	Primary	Post Primary	Total	Polit.	Other	Total
Yes	(111)	(43)	(154)	(51)	(46)	(66)	(163)	(101)	(45)	(16)	(162)	(107)	(31)	(18)	(5)	(161)	(28)	(134)	(162)
	39%	15%	54%	17%	15%	22%	55%	34%	15%	5%	55%	36%	10%	6%	2%	55%	9%	45%	54%
No	(92)	(41)	(133)	(35)	(45)	(54)	(134)	(82)	(43)	(10)	(135)	(110)	(13)	(9)	(2)	(134)	(18)	(119)	(137)
	32%	14%	46%	12%	15%	18%	45%	28%	14%	3%	45%	37%	4%	3%	0	45%	6%	40%	46%
Total	(203)	(84)	(287)	(86)	(91)	(120)	(297)	(183)	(88)	(25)	(296)	(217)	(44)	(27)	(7)	(295)	(46)	(263)	(299)
	71%	29%	100%	29%	31%	40%	100%	62%	30%	8%	100%	74%	15%	9%	2%	100%	15%	85%	100%

Table 3 - Cross-Tabulation of Radio Set Ownership and Sex, Age, Profession, Socio-Political Status and Level of Schooling (Absolute Frequencies in Parentheses).

French would be more likely to own and listen to radio. Second, we might also assume that those with more education would be more interested in the modern world outside and take any opportunity to learn more about it. Third, for those who have been to school, owning a radio may be an external symbol of their modernity. As we can see from the table, the great majority of people with some form of schooling own radio sets, while slightly less than half of illiterate persons do. The relationship ($r = .18$) though not very strong, is significant.

We began our survey with another working hypothesis which we wished to test on political office holders. We assumed that political leaders like chiefs or party delegates would be more likely to use radio as a means of keeping up with political events elsewhere in the country and form a kind of two-step flow structure from leaders to their constituents. As we can see from Table 3, such was not the case, and we found no significant difference between political status and radio ownership. (On a more disaggregated level, we did find that among the five village chiefs interviewed, only one did not own a radio.)

B. Radio Access

We cannot assume that only those who declare they own radio sets are those who listen to radio. So we asked respondents about their listening habits. Table 4 provides us with some interesting information. If we assume that the 46 persons who did not respond do not listen to the radio in addition to the five who say they do not, then the vast majority of about 83% listen at least occasionally to the radio (considerably beyond the 55% who declare they own radio sets).

Respondents were asked at what times of day they usually listened to

the radio, whether only in the morning, at noon or in the evening or some combination. Not surprisingly the majority (47%) listens in the evening, while the next largest group (30%) listens at both morning and evening, and these two categories account for almost 80% of listening patterns. It was surprising to find that among the rural population the combined listening of all morning categories (47.8%) was only about half of all the evening categories combined (92.4%). If the sample is at all representative, some of the early morning programs, like The National Cup of Progress, may not be reaching as large numbers of farmers as they might if their programs were scheduled in the evenings.

	Absolute Frequencies	Relative Frequencies
Do not listen	5	0.2%
Occasionally	2	0.8
Morning	8	3.2
Noon	4	1.6
Evening	120	47.4
Noon/Evening	1	0.4
Morning/Evening	77	30.4
Morning/Noon/Evening	36	14.2
Total	253	100%

Table 4 - Number of Radio Listeners by Period of the Day

C. Content of Radio Listening

We had made certain assumptions about what kinds of programs rural people would be likely to listen to. From the point of view of language alone,

we assumed a relatively illiterate audience (about 75%) would prefer listening in its own local language. Based on our visits to villages, we had also assumed that sports and music would be popular, but we had not assumed news would be very important to rural villagers. Table 5 provides us with a list of most favorite programs among those who say they listen to radio. We should note that percentages are figured on the total sample of 299 so as to give a listening figure among the population.

Types of Radio Programs	Absolute Frequencies	Relative* Frequencies
1. Local language programs	173	58%
2. News and news announcements	129	43%
3. Sports	112	37%
4. Terre et Soleil	94	31%
5. Music	70	23%
6. Other programs	6	2%

Table 5 - Frequencies of Content Types of Radio Program Listening.

*Relative frequency is the % of the absolute frequency divided by the total sample of 299.

It is quite clear that local languages are the most popular programs among rural people, confirming our working hypothesis based on a good deal of other evidence from visits to villages. What we needed to discover further was whether this was due to the educational gap that the large number of illiterates suffered from. We find an answer to this question in Table 6 below. We find a significant but relatively weak negative relationship (contingency coefficient = .15) between education and listening to local language programs. Following a hypothesis that political leaders might need to know the events important for

their area more than the average citizen, we checked to see if this was true. We found a weak but significant positive relationship between political leadership and local language program listening. Although we found that political leaders did not own or listen to radio more than ordinary citizens, they do listen more than average to the local language broadcasts.

	Educational Level				
Listen to Local Language Programs	Illiterate	Read and Write	Primary	Post-Primary	Total
Yes	55%	10%	4%	1%	70%
No	15%	7%	6%	2%	30%
Total	70%	17%	10%	3%	100%

Table 6 - Cross-Tabulation of Educational Level and Local Language Radio Listening

We now turn our attention to the second most frequently mentioned type of radio programming, news and news announcements. Table 7 is a summary of the news listening by sex, age, profession, education and political status. Sex shows a significant relationship ($p < .05$) with this variable, men listening to news more than women. Age, too, shows a weak but significant relation, but somewhat surprisingly the youngest respondents listen to more news than their elders (education, French language facility, a tendency to migrate more could all help to explain this). The differences found among different employment groups probably reflects more the sex difference found earlier than influences of work roles since planters or farmers were all male (65%) and housewives all female (25%), accounting for most of the sample who listen to radio (247 respondents). Education clearly makes a difference and a significant one; those respondents with some education are much more likely to listen to the news than

	Sex			Age				Profession				Schooling					Political Activity		
	M	F	Total	15-25	26-45	46+	Total	Planters	Housewives	Other	Total	Illiterate	Read and Write	CEPE	BEPC	Total	Polit.	Other	Total
No	(74)	(44)	(118)	(27)	(35)	(57)	(119)	(65)	(44)	(9)	(118)	(102)	(8)	(7)	(1)	(118)	(20)	(98)	(118)
	31%	18%	50%	11%	14%	23%	48%	26%	18%	3%	48%	42%	3%	3%		49%	8%	40%	48%
Yes	(105)	(14)	(119)	(47)	(40)	(42)	(129)	(95)	(18)	(16)	(129)	(69)	(35)	(19)	(6)	(125)	(22)	(106)	(128)
	44%	6%	50%	19%	16%	17%	52%	38%	7%	6%	52%	28%	14%	8%	2%	51%	9%	43%	52%
Total	(179)	(58)	(237)	(74)	(75)	(99)	(248)	(160)	(62)	(25)	(247)	(171)	(43)	(26)	(7)	(243)	(42)	(205)	(247)
	76%	24%	100%	30%	30%	40%	100%	65%	25%	10%	100%	70%	17%	11%	3%	100%	17%	83%	100

Table 7 - Cross-Tabulation of Information Programs and Sex, Age, Profession, Level of Schooling and Socio-Political Status (Absolute Frequencies in Parentheses).

the illiterate respondents. The reasons for this fairly strong relationship are multiple, but one would guess that language facility in French opens one up to more news, and education socializes one to look to the modern centers for information, guidance and values. It may not be as surprising as it at first seemed to us that there was no relationship between the political status and news listening. If information is power, then the government would not disperse information that could be used politically on a mass medium available to everyone. Rather, we have found that important political and administrative information that is peculiar to the village or region usually gets passed through the village chief or party delegate through an interpersonal, face-to-face form (Benveniste, 1976) and the chief or delegate passes it along to others, thus preserving the political power structure. More will be said about this in the next section.

D. Information Channels in the Village

Our hypothesis about how information circulates in a village was not based on a good description of the process of information diffusion in rural Ivory Coast. It also matters what kind of information we are talking about, as we mentioned at the end of the previous section. For mass media information, or news stories, we adopted a kind of two-step flow hypothesis. However, not only does news get filtered through certain people (or opinion leaders) to others, which represents the two or n-step flow (depending on how many people are intermediaries), but in the rural areas there might be a significant number of people with no interest in outside news and that the further away the source of the news (national or international sources) the less the motivation to know.

Respondents were asked whether they knew about several national and

international news events that had occurred at the time the questionnaire was administered, and were asked through what medium they came to know about them. Another question asked how they came to know about local events like the visit of the local administrator (the sous-prefet).

We will examine local events first and answers to the second question mentioned above may help to shed light on what we have said earlier about political position and information control. Table 8 provides us with a very clear example of how the visit of the sous-prefet, an important local political event, is largely controlled by the village chief and to a minor extent by the political party delegate or committee.

Information Source	Absolute Frequencies	Relative Frequencies (%)
Village Chief	222	77.4%
Party (PDCI) Committee	44	15.3
Other Villagers	16	5.6
Village Elders	1	.7
Do Not Know	4	1.4
Total	287	100%

Table 8 - Information Sources on the Visit of the Sous-Prefet to the Village

We might also observe that despite an increasing emphasis on modern party structure in the Ivory Coast, the traditional predominance of the chief is still very marked in the village. An alternate interpretation would be that Houphouet-Boigny's PDCI attempts to work through rather than replacing traditional structures, as some other African states have done, is reflected in

the findings. Since there are few telephones in any rural areas, the sous-prefet would probably have to inform the village of his visit by mail or messanger. It seems that he has chosen to address the message in most cases to the chief. We can only assume that he deals directly with the person in charge of the village, who is the local chief. Regardless of possible bias in respondents' answers (saying what they think the interviewer would want to hear), almost all respondents were aware of the sous-prefet's visit and presumably about other local political events that affect their village.

How villagers are informed about national and international news events is the interest of the next step in this inquiry. Table 9 indicates whether respondents knew and by what sources they learned of four news events: a cabinet shuffle in the Ivory Coast, the Ivorian president's visit to France, the news of the Lebanese war, and a military coup in Nigeria.

	Ivorian Cabinet Shuffle		President's Trip to France		Lebanese War		Coup in Nigeria	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Do not know	94	31.4	122	40.9	142	47.5	149	49.8
Radio	148	49.5	144	48.3	136	45.5	131	43.8
Television	3	1.0	10	3.4	8	2.7	3	1.0
Newspaper	7	2.3	2	.7	2	.7	3	1.0
Local Political Leaders	15	5.0	2	.7	1	.3	2	.7
Friends, Relatives or Other Villagers	32	10.7	18	6.0	10	3.3	11	3.7
Total	299	100.0	298	100.0	299	100.0	299	100.0

Table 9 - Frequencies of People Informed About National and International Events Through Different Media.

We should observe first of all that the level of people who do not know about these events is quite high (from a minimum of 31.4% to about 50%), especially when compared to the almost universal knowledge of the visit of the sous-prefet. The other clear trend is for people to know more about national than international events. The level of knowledge about Lebanon was higher than it was for Africa, a slight surprise since we assumed that a coup in an African neighbor would be of more interest than a far off war in the Middle East.

The second observation is the overwhelming proportion of people who know about the events through radio. By contrast, and not surprisingly, the other media play practically no role (television being rare and newspapers demanding literacy). But the surprising thing perhaps is how weak, by contrast, even for a national political event like the cabinet shuffle, is the role of interpersonal communication when compared to radio. The two-step flow hypothesis does not receive any confirmation in these data.

E. Television as a Medium in Village Life

Our treatment of radio and television needs to be quite different in this survey. Radio sets are owned individually and are quite widespread (55% own sets) among respondents, whereas private television ownership was limited to six individuals or about 2%. Most TV sets that exist in rural Ivory Coast belong to the primary schools which are usually opened for rural adult listeners on Wednesday and Friday evenings for the adult education programs, Télé Pour Tous (Television for Everybody).

When respondents were asked a second question about where they watched television, they were given the alternative of saying they do not watch or, if they did, of saying where they had watched. Table 10 provides a summary of

the answers. We find that 54 people did not answer and can be presumed not to watch, along with 23 who say that they do not watch television. This means that

TV Watching Place	Frequencies	Percentage
Do not Watch	23	9%
Parents or Friends' House	67	27
At School	151	61
At Home	5	2
Total	246	99%

Table 10 - Frequencies of People Watching TV in Different Places

about 75% of all the villagers interviewed do or have watched television, a high number for most rural areas but not in a country like the Ivory Coast where television is a widespread phenomenon even in the many villages where there is no electricity (sets are battery operated). It is also clear from Table 10 that the vast majority of TV watchers (about 68% of those who watch) do so in the local school. The 2% who watch at home would be the same who own their own sets, but the 30% who say they watch at homes of relatives is puzzling. This could have several alternative explanations. Either people refer to relatives who live in cities at whose house they occasionally watch television on visits to the city, or some might speak of the teacher as a friend and thus be referring to the school instead. Or finally, somewhat unlikely, is the possibility that in our sample we missed a large number of set owners in villages.

Our next question is what special characteristics these television watchers have in contrast to the 25% who did not answer the question about TV

watching or say they do not watch. Table 11 provides a great deal of information, much of which will not be needed to answer our basic questions. First we find that not surprisingly a significantly larger percentage of men watch television than do women, something other studies of the Télé Pour Tous adult education series have also demonstrated (Fritz, 1976; Lenglet, 1976). Neither age nor political status makes a significant difference for those who watch or do not watch television. Education, on the other hand, does differentiate TV and non-TV watchers, those with some education watching significantly more than those who are illiterate, but the relationship is a weak one.

Since the preceding question did not ascertain whether the television watching was frequent or simply a one time occurence on a visit to an urban relative, a question about regularity of watching was also included. The number of respondents who say they watch regularly is found in Table 12 where frequency of watching is related to the different regions represented in the sample. The number of regular viewers once a week or more is again about the same number as said they watched at all in the previous question, that is, about 75% of the sample. The majority of TV viewers (72%) say they watch only once or twice a week and this would accord with the times that schools are to be opened for the Télé Pour Tous programs (on Wednesday and Friday nights). But this practice does not explain the 24% of viewers who claim to watch three or more times per week. Either there is an exaggerated response about watching, which is perfectly plausible, or the school sets are open for programs other than the adult education fare, also plausible. The alternatives are not mutually exclusive. If people are being exposed to more than the education programs twice a week and the national news that preceeds it, then there are several consequences that the government,

	Sex			Age				Profession				Schooling					Political Status		
	M	F	Total	15-25	26-45	46+	Total	Planters	Housewives	Others	Total	Illiterate	Read and Write	CEPE	BEPC	Total	Polit. Ldrs.	Other	Total
Do not Watch	(10)	(13)	(23)	(4)	(6)	(13)	(23)	(8)	(13)	(2)	(23)	(20)	(1)	(1)	(0)	(22)	(2)	(21)	(23)
	4%	5%	10%	2%	2%	5%	10%	3%	5%	1%	10%	8%	-	-	-	9%	1%	9%	10%
At School	(116)	(28)	(144)	(51)	(50)	(49)	(150)	(105)	(29)	(15)	(149)	(106)	(25)	(14)	(5)	(150)	(26)	(124)	(150)
	49%	12%	60%	21%	20%	20%	61%	43%	12%	6%	61%	43%	10%	6%	2%	61%	11%	50%	61%
Parents' or Friend's House	(45)	(18)	(63)	(24)	(17)	(26)	(67)	(41)	(21)	(6)	(68)	(38)	(17)	(10)	(2)	(70)	(11)	(56)	(67)
	19%	8%	26%	10%	7%	11%	27%	17%	9%	2%	28%	15%	7%	4%	1%	28%	4%	22%	28%
At Home	(5)	0	(5)	(2)	(4)	(2)	(5)	(5)	(0)	(0)	(5)	(4)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(5)	-	(5)	(5)
	2%	-	2%	1%	-	1%	2%	2%	-	-	2%	2%	-	-	-	2%	-	2%	2%
Total	(179)	(59)	(238)	(79)	(74)	(90)	(245)	(159)	(63)	(23)	(245)	(168)	(43)	(26)	(7)	(247)	(39)	(206)	(245)
	75%	25%	100%	32%	30%	37%	100%	65%	26%	9%	100%	68%	17%	11%	3%	100%	16%	84%	100%

Table 11 - Cross-Tabulation of Place of TV Watching by Sex, Age, Profession, Level of Schooling, and Socio-Political Status (Absolute Frequencies in Parentheses)

especially the Ministry of Information, should consider. First, is widespread TV exposure good for rural dwellers considering the content of much programming,

	TV Watching Frequencies									
DRE	Occasionally		Once or Twice		3-4 Times		5 Times or More		Total	
Abidjan	(3)	1%	37	16%	(13)	5%	(4)	12%	(57)	25%
Bouake	(0)	0%	82	36%	(14)	6%	(5)	2%	(101)	47%
Daloa	(2)	0.8%	17	7%	(7)	3%	(2)	0.8%	(28)	12%
Korhogo	(1)	0.4%	(15)	6%	(2)	0.8%	(1)	0.4%	(19)	8%
Man	(0)	0%	14	6%	(4)	1.7%	(5)	2%	(23)	10%
Total	(6)	2.6%	(165)	72%	(40)	17%	(17)	7%	(228)	100%

Table 12 - Frequencies of Weekly TV Watching by Region

coming as it does most often not only from an urban center but from a totally alien culture of France or the U.S.? Second, if school TV sets are used considerably more than the hour or two a week that is scheduled for adults, then costs in energy and wear and tear on sets would have to be estimated in the cost of the ETV system.

We examined whether there was any significant relationship between regularity of TV watching and our main social and demographic variables, but none was found. The level of TV exposure did not seem to vary according to the measured characteristics of the respondents.

In looking at the content of the television programs that respondents watched, we were especially interested in their viewing and recalling of Télé Pour Tous. Table 13 provides us with a rank ordering of different programs that viewers

watched. Since the television sets in the schools are made available precisely for watching Télé Pour Tous, even 45% of viewers identifying it is not that high. This may mean that though most viewers do watch it every week,

	Television Programs	Watched Yes	No	No Answer
1.	Télé Pour Tous	45%	25%	30%
2.	Sports	41	29	30
3.	Movies and Documentaries	25	45	30
4.	National Entertainment	22	48	30
5.	Local Entertainment	21	49	30
6.	Information	15	55	30
7.	International Entertainment	2	68	30

Table 13 - Frequencies of Different TV Programs Watched by Rural Audiences

they cannot distinguish it from other programs that they see. The fact that they can identify a number of other kinds of TV programs may mean that they do a good deal of other TV watching which would fit with the heavier viewing finding that we saw in the previous table. The popularity of sports programs is probably because little language is needed to observe and enjoy sports that are familiar in the village, like soccer, or sports that may not be familiar but need little sophistication to enjoy, like wrestling. The surprisingly low figure for international entertainment may be due to its generally later hour on the evening's schedule, as well as the language and cultural difficulty it

would present the rural audience.

Examining the characteristics of those viewers who identified Télé Pour Tous as one of the television programs they watch should provide the adult education section of ETV (Extra-Scholaire) with some important information about its audience. Table 14 summarizes the information. We find somewhat surprisingly no significant relationship between Télé Pour Tous watching and the characteristics of the respondents.

When we examined other variables in relation to Télé Pour Tous watching, we find as reported in Table 15 that radio and TV set ownership, as well as where one says one watches television (at home, school, or parents and friends) do differentiate Télé Pour Tous viewers and non-viewers.

	TV Watching Place						Radio Set at Home				TV Set at Home			
Télé Pour Tous Watching	Parents or Friends		At School		At Home		No		Yes		No		Yes	
Yes	27	13%	104	50%	5	2%	51	24%	86	41%	132	63%	5	2.4%
No	36	17%	38	18%	0	0%	37	18%	36	17%	73	34%	1	.6%
Total	63	30%	142	68%	5	2%	88	42%	122	58%	205	97%	6	3%

Table 15 - Cross-Tabulation of Télé Pour Tous Watching and TV Watching Place, Radio Set and TV Set Ownership

F. Newspapers and Printed Material in the Village

Although it is clear that the majority of the audience is an illiterate one, about 72%, and that the level might even be higher on the average in rural areas throughout the country, we still considered it important to examine the distribution of printed materials in the villages. Not surprisingly we found that about the same percent said they read newspapers (25%)

	Sex			Age				Profession				Schooling					Political Activity		
	M	F	Total	15-25	26-45	46+	Total	Planters	Housewives	Other	Total	Illiterate	Read and Write	CEPE	BEPC	Total	Polit.	Other	Total
Yes	(54)	(19)	(73)	(23)	(21)	(30)	(74)	(114)	(20)	(9)	(143)	(51)	(10)	(11)	(2)	(74)	(10)	(64)	(74)
	27%	10%	36%	11%	10%	14%	35%	40%	7%	3%	50%	24%	5%	5%	1%	35%	5%	30%	35%
No	(106)	(21)	(127)	(53)	(40)	(44)	(137)	(101)	(23)	(18)	(142)	(37)	(30)	(14)	(5)	(136)	(23)	(113)	(136)
	53%	11%	64%	25%	19%	21%	65%	35%	8%	6%	50%	41%	14%	7%	2%	65%	11%	54%	65%
Total	(160)	(40)	(200)	(76)	(61)	(74)	(211)	(215)	(43)	(24)	(285)	(138)	(40)	(25)	(7)	(210)	(33)	(177)	(210)
	80%	20%	100%	36%	29%	35%	100%	75%	15%	9%	100%	67%	10%	12%	3%	100%	16%	84%	100%

Table 14 - Cross-Tabulation of Télé Pour Tous Watching and Sex, Age, Profession, Schooling, and Socio-Political Status (Absolute Frequencies between Parentheses).

as are literate (28%), but there are some who are self-declared illiterates who still claim to read newspapers or other printed material. The discrepancy may well be explained (although no followup question was asked on this score) by the fact that often there is in the family a child who can read and write and can read and translate printed materials for others. Table 16 provides us with a summary of the kinds of newspapers and magazines that village people most often read (left hand column). The largest number of people read the most

Newspapers and Magazines	Obs. Freq.	Percent	Newspaper Sections	Obs. Freq.	Percent
Fraternité Matin	60	20.0	News bulletins	51	17.0
Ivoire Dimanche	33	11.0	Sports	48	16.0
Terre et Progrès	12	4.0	Regional News	34	11.3
Fraternité Hebdo	5	1.3	National News	31	10.3
African newspapers	3	1.0	International News	12	4.0
Other Ivorian Papers	1	0.3	Entertainment	12	4.0
Voix d'Afrique	1	0.3	Interviews	1	0.3
Foreign Newspapers	1	0.3	Other Sections	7	2.3

Table 16 - Frequencies of Readers of Different Newspapers and Magazines and Sections of Papers

widely circulated daily newspaper, Fraternité Matin, and some read the Sunday paper, Ivoire Dimanche, but then numbers drop off sharply.

Turning to what kinds of content people seem to be most interested in, we find, as in other media like radio and television, a great interest in both news and sports. Again, we find that local people have a slightly greater interest in local than national or international news, but the general interest

in news is, when added together, far greater than even sports and certainly than entertainment.

Although print is not a widely circulated communication medium in the rural areas, we should remember that every village and even many rural families have at least one literate member, so that if there is interest in certain contents of printed material, there is a way of having that content translated for nonliterate family members.

4. Conclusion

The nature of the sampling does not allow us to make any valid inferences about the nature of media use in all rural areas of the Ivory Coast. Nevertheless, even though the villages were not randomly selected, the results may provide us with some idea of how modern mass media function within villages. It is clear that radio is still the dominant medium listened to by a majority of people for significant portions of each day and week. Unlike the rural areas in other third world countries, however, television has come to play an increasing role in the media habits of village dwellers. What is surprising is the amount of time people spend with all three media, radio, TV and print, considering that a minority are literate in French and that this language is exclusive in TV and print and dominates radio programming.

II. THE HOUSING SURVEY

1. Presentation of the Programs Series

A. Description

In 1976, from March to April, the "TV for Everybody" (or TVE) aired an educational program related to housing problems in the rural areas of the Ivory Coast. The program was divided into three parts. The first part consisted of a general presentation of housing throughout the country as it appears in its harmonious architectural diversity and its stylistic variety. By so doing, the opportunity was given to the viewers to better know their fellow countrymen and admire their artistic creativity.

However, not only positive aspects of traditional housing were shown, but also its dangers; this leads to the second aspect of the program. The idea was that traditional housing, although culturally appropriate most of the time, is not adapted to modern life, and overall presents potential and real dangers. To illustrate, mud walls may break down at any time; grass or palm roofs burn easily; also, the narrow openings do not allow enough air to get inside the houses. All these threats were made clear in the broadcasts so that the viewers could become aware of them and adopt a modern pattern of housing. The third aspect of the programs was connected with possible alternatives to current rural housing. The idea consisted of a certain conciliation of both traditional and modern housing types in such a way that a hybrid outcome, safe enough but not expensive, can be made available in rural areas.

B. Objectives

The primary objective of the housing program was to sensitize the

rural viewers of TVE about the necessity to modernize traditional housing. Although no clear-cut mention was made about the financing policy of the innovation, it seemed that the implicit intention of the government was to implement the change through a policy of self-reliance. In other words, the viewers will have to improve their houses on their own.

2. Presentation of the Study

A. Objectives

A few days after the programs were finished being broadcast, an evaluative study was carried out, the objectives of which were the measurement of:

1. The general attitude toward the TV programs;
2. The general attitude toward housing;
3. The attitude toward the financing policy of housing as defined in the TV series;
4. The application of the advice seen on TV.

These four research objectives were commanded by the nature of the social intervention itself. In fact, awareness was the objective of the program, hence it was out of the question to study the program's impact in terms of the material achievement of the viewers. Also, the interval of time between the end of the broadcast and the study was not long enough to allow a correct assessment of the effect of the program.

B. Design

The design type used is what is called in the Campbell and Stanley (1972) approach the "one-shot case study" and can be diagrammed as follows:

X O

The symbol X represents the treatment, in the case under study, the TV broadcasts on housing, while O represents the variable to be measured, here, the response of TVE's viewers. As the diagram shows, the study will consist of describing and analyzing the attitude of those who watched the housing program series. There is no control group, i.e., non-viewers, whose results would have been compared with those of the treatment group in order to scientifically assess the impact of the program.

Thus, the study cannot identify the causal influences on the outcome, but this limitation does not mean that the study is useless. In fact, it is still possible to suggest some interesting inferences from it, as far as these inferences are based upon general expectations of what the data would have been had the treatment not occurred. Of course, such a research involves an excellent awareness of the researcher of the socio-economic and political realities of the context within which the data were collected. In other words, the pitfalls of the design can be, if not neutralized, at least considerably reduced by a comprehensive study devoted to "illuminate" the reader by providing him with as accurate as possible information connected with the social context.

C. Sample

The interviews were carried out in fourteen villages where the animators showed manifest interest in the TVE series. In other words, the sampled villages were not randomly selected, but rather chosen on the basis of the frequency of their animators' feed-back reports. This means that the results are to be taken as an illustration of the positive case for TVE and as not generalizable to the whole universe of TVE groups.

Since the study was focused on the effect of the intervention, only

those village members who had been exposed to the TVE programs were selected. The local animator was to conduct interviews in his own village. He was asked to designate 15 persons in his village on a basis that the respondent should have attended all the programs. Table 1* indicates the sampling criteria.

Age	Male	Female	Total
15 - 25	4	2	6
26-50	4	2	6
Over 51	2	1	3
Total	10	5	15

Table 1

According to the foregoing distribution, 210 respondents were expected. But in reality, interviews were conducted in only 11 villages, with a total sample of 154 respondents, that is, 73% of the theoretical sample.

Because the interviewers were not specifically recommended to randomly select the respondents, it may be feared that the selection was biased. However, such a possible bias is minimized by the geographical representation of the selected villages. Besides, it can be argued that the sample may be the "best case" example of TVE watchers, that is, the most faithful rural viewers of TVE in eleven better than average villages. If this is a reasonable argument, then it may be assumed that other results of TVE in this series, at least, are probably less favorable.

---

*Tables are numbered separately for the two parts of the report, as they were the work of different authors. Faustin Yao was responsible for Part I, Pierre Seya for Part II.

D. Data Collection

The collection of data was performed through TVE animators. Because the animators did not have any research experience prior to the study, a training session on research techniques in general and particularly on interview methods, was held in Bouake, the second largest city of the country, for one week, before the survey. During this training session, about forty animators, converted into interviewers, were provided with enough training in order to be able to correctly carry out the interviews.

The main methodological advice given to the animators can be summarized in the following points:

1. To schedule a rendezvous with the respondent before the interview;
2. To manage to be alone with the respondent, except cases where interpreters are needed;
3. To only use one questionnaire for each respondent;
4. After a question, to provide the respondent with sufficient time to think before answering;
5. If the respondent, for some reason, does not want to answer a particular question, to go on to the following question;
6. To be as neutral as possible during the interview process by not suggesting any answer;
7. To write down the answers of the respondent as accurately as possible.

If it is joyful to know that the research capability of the animator has increased thanks to the training session, it is, however, sad to notice that such a capability has not always been exploited during the interviews. In fact, in some villages, trained animators did not perform the interviews

themselves; instead, they sent their pupils to replace them. Such dishonesty was easily revealed by a glance at the handwriting on some returned questionnaires. Fortunately, this situation seems to be rather rare and does not seriously affect the reliability of the results. Since the study was focused on attitude evaluation, open-ended questions were broadly used to collect the data. The questions were simply written in order to avoid problems of translation.

3. The Results

A. Attitude Toward TVE

1) Viewer identification with TVE: In order to measure to what extent the viewers recognize themselves through TVE's programs, the viewers were asked whether their villages look like the villages shown in the housing programs. Table 2 summarizes the frequency distribution of the answers.

	Absolute Frequency	Percent
No	62	40.3
Yes	91	59.1
No Answer	1	0.6
Total	154	100.0%

Table 2

As indicated by the table, 91 respondents out of 154 (59%) declared that TVE's villages are similar to theirs, while 62 (40%) do not see any resemblance between their villages and TVE's. Thus, assuming that the respondents are quite representative of TVE's rural viewers, it can be inferred that for the majority of rural viewers TVE tends to show people and places similar to themselves.

2) Viewer's trust in TVE: In order to measure the extent to which the viewers trust TVE's programs in general and particularly the housing series, the respondents were asked whether or not what they saw on TVE was true. Table 2 summarizes the frequencies distribution of the answers.

	Absolute Frequency	Percent
No	9	5.8
Yes	144	93.5
No Answer	1	0.6
Total	154	100.00%

Table 3

The data are quite clear. 144 respondents out of 154 (93%) believe that TVE is truthful, while only 9 (6%) are convinced of the contrary. The justification provided by the respondents who mistrust TVE is that TVE fails to present information that corresponds with the realities of their villages, while most of the believers argued the contrary. But there also are believers in TVE who trust TVE simply because it exists, and those who trust without being able to say why.

Thus it can be inferred that rural TVE's viewers in general trust TVE. But while most of them do so because TVE's programs match with the village's realities, some do not provide any specific justification.

B. Attitudes Toward Housing

Three types of housing are conceivable in the Ivory Coast: (1) traditional housing; (2) western housing, and (3) a combination of adapted housing. These three types of housing may develop three types of attitudes toward housing

in general. A positive attitude toward traditional housing is expressed by the respondents who totally reject western housing and choose instead housing built from local materials and reflecting local cultural values. A positive attitude toward western housing normally supposes rejection of traditional housing. Finally a positive attitude toward adapted housing, unlike the foregoing two extreme attitudes, consists of an acceptance of both western and traditional architectural values.

1) Traditional housing: In order to measure their attitude toward traditional housing, the respondents were asked whether or not they would like to keep their traditional housing. Table 4 presents the frequency distribution of their answers:

	Absolute Frequency	Percent
No	69	44.8
Yes	84	54.5
No Answer	1	0.6
Total	154	100.0%

Table 4

As is apparent in the table, 84 respondents (54%) are willing to keep traditional housing, while 69 (45%) reject it. It was found that among those who declared themselves in favor of traditional housing, 42 (26%) justify their attitude by esthetic considerations (with such answers as: "I like the traditional house shape"), while 27 respondents are in favor of keeping traditional housing because they wish to preserve the local cultural values.

The most common reason given by the respondents who reject traditional housing is related to esthetic considerations. 34 respondents (22%) simply

said that they do not like it. However, reasons of inconvenience have been advanced too. Thus 12 respondents complained about the fact that traditional housing is not convenient during rainy seasons, while 10 others were not happy that traditional housing does not provide many bedrooms.

No significant relationship was found between the attitude toward traditional housing and variables such as amount of schooling, social status and profession.

2) Adapted housing: In order to measure the respondents' attitudes about adapted rural housing, they were asked whether or not they like the type of housing described on TVE. Table 5 presents the frequency distribution of their answers:

	Absolute Frequency	Percent
Agree	129	83
Disagree	16	10
No answer	9	7
Total	154	100.0%

Table 5

The table shows that 122 respondents (83%) agree with TVE's advice which means that they like to have their rural housing adapted rather than left in its traditional nature, or completely Westernized. Besides those who agree with adapted rural housing, 16 respondents disagree for unspecified reasons. The reasons given by those who agreed are presented in Table 6.

Reasons	Absolute Frequency	Percent
It is good	102	66.23
TVE gives advice on cleanness	16	10.38
It is a way of preserving traditional values	6	3.89
It is a way of saving money	5	3.24

Table 6

As it appears, 66% of the TVE rural viewers who would like to adapt housing to modern life do not seem to be able to provide specific reasons to justify their attitude, besides acknowledging that "it is good." Only 7% of the viewers seem to be really aware of the advantages of a rural housing adapted to modern life. According to them, rural housing adapted to modernism "is a way of preserving traditional values" and "saving money." Thus, whereas rural TVE viewers in their majority approve the idea of rural housing adapted to modern life, they do not seem to know why. But this is not the only contradiction observable in the viewers' attitude. Another contradiction appears from the examination of the traditional elements that the viewers would like to use in the building of rural housing adapted to modernism.

Traditional Elements Named	Absolute Frequency	Percent
I don't know	62	40.25
Animals	1	0.64
Shape	35	22.72
Irrelevant answers	56	36.36
Total	154	100.00

Table 7

As it appears, most of the viewers do not know what traditional elements to incorporate in a rural house adapted to modern life. Only 23% have a clear idea of what they would like to keep from traditional housing (the circular shape of traditional house). Thus, once again, it can be noticed that traditional housing is not really successful among the viewers, although they claim to be in favor of it. One more piece of evidence is that if rural TVE viewers do not seem to know what they "like" in traditional housing, it is not the same case as far as what they dislike is concerned, as it appears in Table 8.

Traditional Elements to be Rejected	Absolute Frequency	Percent
Mud wall and thatched roof	41	26.62
Thatched roof	33	21.42
Everything that is not clean	30	19.48
Everything	15	9.74
Mud wall	13	8.44
Round shape	10	6.49
Garbage	3	1.94
I don't know	3	1.94
No answer	6	3.89
Total	154	100.00

Table 8

It can be noticed that the list of things to reject is longer than the list of elements to accept (see Table 7) which means that there are more things to

reject in traditional housing than to accept.

Accepting adapted rural housing implies a selection of traditional and modern architectural values. The shape appears as the most common element that the respondents want to keep. Beside the shape, it does not seem that there is anything else that TVE's viewers seem to be interested in preserving. In fact, while 35 respondents (23%) want to keep the shape of traditional housing, the remaining 119 (77%) are unable to name any traditional elements that they wish to incorporate into an adapted housing.

If the respondents, in general, do not have a clear cut idea of what traditional housing can bring to an adapted housing, they seem, however, to be more comfortable when it comes to naming traditional architectural elements to be rejected. Thus, the majority of the respondents (56%) want to reject mud walls and thatched roofs, 19% "anything that is not clean" (without any specification), 6% the circular shape and 10% "everything."

3) Western housing: In order to measure the respondents' attitude toward Western housing, they were asked whether or not they would like to have Western housing, rather than traditional or adapted kinds. Table 9 summarizes the frequency distribution of the answers:

	Absolute Frequency	Percent
No	5	3.2
Yes	148	96.1
No Answer	1	0.6
Total	154	100.00

Table 9

As can be seen, 148 respondents (96%) are in favor of Western housing, while only 5 (3%) are not. The justification provided by those who rejected Western housing is that this type of housing is too expensive, which in reality cannot be considered as opposition to Western housing as such, but rather to its cost.

4) Dream house: To allow the respondents to freely express their attitude about housing, they were asked to describe the type of housing that they would like to build if they were rich enough. Table 10 summarizes the frequency distribution:

	Absolute Frequency	Percent
Villas	122	79.2
Two-story house	17	11.0
Brick house	14	9.1
No answer	1	0.6
Total	154	100.00

Table 10

As indicated by the table, most of the respondents dream of "villas"; two-story houses are the second most popular housing type that the respondents referred to. What is striking is that nobody mentions anything related to traditional or adapted housing.

5) The respondents perception of the TVE housing series: It is important to know the perception that the respondents have of the TVE housing programs, since such a perception may strengthen the already existing attitudes of the respondents. The perception of the objectives of the series was measured through a question stated as follows: "According to you, what is the government's intention when broadcasting the housing programs." Table 11 summarizes

the results.

	Absolute Frequency	Percent
Modernize	81	52.6
Help	34	22.1
Educate	31	20.1
No answer	8	5.1
Total	154	100.0

Table 11

As indicated in the table, education, help and modernization are perceived by the respondents as the objectives pursued by the government through the housing programs. When rank ordered, modernization appears to be the objective most commonly perceived by the audience (52%); helping is second (22%), and education, the last (20%). Considered globally, the foregoing three objectives translate pretty well the government's intention, that is, to help rural people to modernize their villages by broadcasting education and information connected with housing.

C. Attitudes toward the Financing Policy for Adapted Rural Housing

1) Willingness to spend one's own money: In order to measure the foregoing attitude, the respondents were asked whether or not they are willing to spend their own money to improve their housing. Table 12 presents the frequency distribution of the answers:

	Absolute Frequency	Percent
Yes	146	94.8
No	2	1.3
No answer	6	3.9
Total	154	100.0

51

Table 12

The data are expressive in themselves. Practically all the respondents, 146 out of 154 (95%) are ready to spend their money to improve their housing, while only 2 respondents defend the contrary.

2) Perception of the responsibility in the modernization of the village: Such a perception was measured by asking the respondents to indicate who, according to them, should be responsible for the modernization of the village. Table 13 summarizes the frequency distribution of the answers:

	Absolute Frequency	Percent
All the villagers	95	61.7
Government	36	23.4
Village Chiefs	20	13.0
Government - villagers	2	1.3
Someone	1	0.6
Total	154	100.0

Table 13

As indicated by the table, 95 respondents (62%) think that the construction of the village should be the villagers' task, 36 (23%) attribute such a task to the government, while 20 (13%) believe that it should be the responsibility of the village chiefs. Thus, it appears that in general, rural TVE's viewers tend to rely on themselves for the improvement of their villages, while some believe that such an action should be the responsibility of the government or the village chiefs.

Table 14 indicates the existence of a relationship between the respondents' status and their perception of the responsibility.

Financial Role in Village Modernization

Status	Government	Village chief	All villagers	Gov't.and Villagers	Total
Village chief	-	-	0.7	-	0.7%
Neighborhood chief	0.7	2.6	2.6	-	5.9
Political leaders	0.7	0.7	1.3	0.7	3.3
Religious leaders	0.7	-	2.0	-	2.6
Fetisheur(religious)	-	-	2.6	-	2.6
Ordinary citizen	21.7	9.9	52.6	0.7	84.9
Totals	23.7	13.2	61.8	1.3	100.0%

Table 14

There is a slight significant relationship (Chi square = 26.20 with df = 15, $p < .05$) between the status of TVE's viewers and their perception of who should play the most important role in the modernization of the village. Viewers who hold any kind of local power (such as village chief, neighborhood chief, fetisheur, local representative of the national party) tend to believe that the villagers themselves should play the most important role in the village modernization, even though they do not negate the responsibility of the village chiefs. On the other hand, ordinary citizens, although they acknowledge their own active participation, tend to rely slightly more on the government for the modernization of the village.

Professions	Role in Village Modernization: Government	Village chief	All villagers	Gov't.and Villagers	Totals
Unemployed	4.7	2.7	6.8	-	14.2
Farmers	14.2	5.4	27.7	0.7	48.0
Housewives	4.7	3.4	16.2	0.7	25.0
Small merchants	0.7	-	2.0	-	3.4
Farm laborers	-	2.5	4.1	-	6.1
Craftspeople	-	-	1.4	-	1.4
Civil servants	-	-	1.4	-	1.4
Health agents	-	-	0.7	-	0.7
Total	24.3	13.5	60.1	1.4	100.0%

Table 15

As Table 15 shows, a slight significant relationship (Chi square = 41.88, df = 28, $p < .05$) was found between rural TVE's viewers' professions and their perception of responsibility for modernization. According to the cross tabulation, TVE's rural viewers whose professions are connected with rural life, such as farmers, housewives or rural unemployed, tend to rely more on the government than those whose activities are connected with modern life (civil servants, extension agents). However, both rural and modern workers more or less equally emphasized the active participation of the villagers in the modernization process of the village.

D. Nature of the Villagers' Role in Village Modernization

After having acknowledged the villagers' role in village modernization, the respondents were invited to define the nature of such a role. Should it be individual or collective? Table 16 summarizes the results:

	Absolute Frequency	Percent
Collective responsibility	126	81.8
Individual responsibility	22	14.2
No answer	6	3.9
Total	154	100.0

Table 16

As can be seen, the majority of the respondents, 126 (82%) think that the responsibility of the villagers in the modernization of the village should be collective, and 22 (14%) argued the contrary.

1) Attitude toward the financing policy of the housing program: If the mode of participation in the modernization process of the village, as perceived by the rural viewers, is important to know, it also is crucial to know how the villagers perceive the financing of such a modernization. The rural viewers' attitude toward the financing policy of the modernization of the village was measured by asking the respondents whether or not they prefer to finance this on their own. Table 17 summarizes the frequency distribution:

	Absolute Frequency	Percent
On my own	84	54.5
Credit	67	43.5
No answer	3	1.9
Total	154	100.0

Table 17

The data indicate that the majority of the respondents 84 (55%) prefer to finance the modernization of their villages on their own. Those who prefer credit,

although they are fewer, constitute a strong minority (44%). The most popular justification provided by those who do not want to borrow money from banks is that they want to avoid any trouble. Forty percent of those who prefer to borrow money do so because they do not have sufficient money, while 37% of the same category of respondents argue that borrowing or using "credit" is easier than using one's own money.

A significant relationship was found ($R = .21$ $p < .01$) between financing policy preferred and status in the village. Those who hold some form of power in the village (village or neighborhood chiefs and political leaders) have a tendency to prefer credit; ordinary citizens tend to stay away from it.

2) Intervention of rural development agencies: Still staying within the framework of the financing policy of the village, the respondents were asked whether or not they want rural development agencies such as SOGEFIHA and FRAR, to intervene into the modernization of their villages. Table 18 presents the frequency distribution of the answers:

	Absolute Frequency	Percent
Yes	84	54.5
No	65	42.2
No Answer	5	3.1
Total	154	100.0%

Table 18

As is apparent in the table, the majority of the respondents (55%) accept the intervention of the rural development agencies, while a numerically important minority reject such an intervention. A slight correlation ($R = .12$, $p < .1$) was found between the amount of schooling of the respondents and their attitude

A slight significant relationship (Chi square = 95.48, df = 72, $p < .05$) was found between the application of the advice and the profession of the viewers. The viewers whose professions are connected with rural life (farmers, housewives and rural unemployed) tend to apply the advice more than those whose professions are connected with modern life (civil servants, extension agents, etc.).

4. Discussion

A. Inconsistency in the rural TVE viewers' attitude about housing

The viewers fail in showing a consistency in their general attitude toward housing. There is evidence to support the foregoing statement. First, whereas the viewers, in general, expressed their preference for rural housing adapted to modern standards, as shown in table 4, when invited to describe the type of housing that they would like to have if they could afford it, they described a type of housing that, far from recalling any traditional housing type, rather is the insipid reproduction of modern Western houses (table 9).

Other evidence pointing out the inconsistency in viewers' attitude is expressed by the fact that most of the viewers, although they said they would like to use some traditional architectural elements, did not know what traditional element to use (table 6). Also, most of the reasons given by the viewers to justify their preference for adopting traditional housing are unspecific and vague in their answers, as can be seen in table 5. Yet, as far as unwanted traditional architectural elements are concerned, the viewers became most specific (table 8).

Thus, the evidence shows that viewers expressed inconsistent attitudes about housing. Such an inconsistency may be accounted for by the hypothesis that,

toward the intervention of the agencies such as SOGEFIHA and FRAR. Those with less schooling had a slightly greater tendency to reject the intervention of these agencies than those with higher education.

E. The Application of the Housing Program's Advice

It must be recalled that in the housing program, the notion of housing was broadly defined in such a way that beside the buildings, housing includes all the things that are directly or indirectly connected with a house. It seems that the viewers unanimously agree with the advice given by TVE programs. But in order to check whether this advice has lead the viewers to undertake any concrete action, the respondents were asked whether they had performed one or more of the following actions: cover garbage cans, build an enclosure, use an iron roof, build a latrine, or build a shower. The application of advice was measured globally. To make it possible, responses to all of the five actions were combined into one index. Table 19 summarizes the frequency distribution of the answers of respondents:

Scores on Action Index	Absolute Frequency	Percent
Low	112	72.7
Medium	34	22.1
High	8	5.2
Total	154	100.0%

Table 19

Thus it appears that few viewers (5%) applied much of the advice on TVE, 22% applied it moderately, while the majority (73%) put little of the advice into practice.

in reality, there was no such category of respondents who sincerely meant to reconcile traditional and modern architectural values in housing. Instead, it seems that the preference of modern Western housing with its luxurious commodities is the deep seated attitude of rural viewers who, as a matter of fact, widely recognized the superiority of Western houses over traditional houses in terms of security, health, protection and comfort.

The foregoing hypothesis is quite reasonable if we bear in mind that modernism, the dominant way of life in urban areas, is becoming more and more influential in rural areas through a network of communication relatively well developed.* Besides, TVE rural viewers are not familiar with the model of housing recommended by TVE (traditional housing adapted to modern standards). In fact, such a pattern does not exist in the Ivory Coast, except in very few touristic centers such as "Gouessesso Village" or "Assinie" where an original hybrid housing style resulted from a luxurious combination of Western modern and local traditional architectural values for the sake of tourism. Consequently, TVE rural viewers did not have any clear cut idea of such a model, and thereby could not logically express any consistent attitude about it. Valid opinions are usually expressed about experienced things, not about fictitious things, especially when it comes to rural people.

If the viewers were shown concrete illustrations of an adapted housing, they would have had a better idea about it and would have been able to provide a more reliable response. Unfortunately, TVE made no attempt to accurately illustrate the concept of "adapted housing" with tangible examples. Adapted housing was more talked about than shown, maybe because beyond touristic purposes,

---

*Besides radio, which represents a very popular medium of mass communication, in 1976, there were about 1,100 village schools equipped with TV sets where the members of the villages could go and watch TV.

there is no such housing style as rural housing adapted to modernism in the Ivory Coast. In fact, none of the construction companies, private or public, in the country has a construction policy that includes both traditional and modern architectural elements. The following two examples are enlightening on that matter. The Company of Financial Management of Housing (SOGEFIHA), one of the most important state construction agencies, built 5,216 houses in 126 villages from 1965 to 1973, according to a similar monotonous western design. The same phenomenon appears in the housing construction policy of the Company for Palm Oil Exploitation (SODEPALM). In ten years, this company constructed about forty villages in a western style without the least concern for adaptation to local architectural values. The situation is even more distressing with the private construction companies which, a few years ago, monopolized a substantial part of the construction in the country.

As it appears, the absence of adapted housing examples in the housing program films seems not to be accidental, but rather consistent with the national construction policy which is itself accounted for by the outward orientation of the Ivorian model of development. The country heavily depends on western countries, especially France, which widely dominates its economic structures. As a result, most of the equipment needed in the country, and particularly construction materials, are imported. This structural dependence of the Ivorian economic system does not allow a true autonomous national construction policy based on self-reliance. For a housing policy adapted to local values and needs is more conceivable in a self-reliant economy than in a dependent one. In fact, it seems to be very difficult to implement a construction policy based on the exploitation of local resources while at the same time the country is dominated by imported construction goods.

In Tanzania, the government has well understood the need to control the housing production sector in order to define an effective national housing policy. Thus, in 1967, after the Arusha Declaration, a National Housing Corporation was created whose role was to build housing adapted to Tanzanian cultural values and to the needs of rural people, by using "burnt brick and tiles, not cement and bati." Besides, the Ministry Building Research Unit was also created, whose role was "investigating cheaper but still good modern housing methods."* If the Tanzanian housing strategy is wise, then it appears that an effective solution to a more adapted housing policy, in the Ivory Coast, should rest upon a firm political will of the government to radically transform the existing structural economic relations based on dependency that links the country to housing corporations still widely influenced by private Westernized interests. As long as the liberal strategy of development will legitimize a "laissez-faire" policy as it exists today, one has to be skeptical about the successful implementation of a housing policy which promotes local architectural values.

But the governmental control of the housing sector, although it is a necessary condition for the implementation of a housing policy based on local values and needs, is not sufficient. Besides, it is important that the elite class itself, and specifically the government, have faith in local cultural values and rehabilitate them. For as long as the country will be so strongly influenced by Western experience, it will be contradictory to invite rural people to adopt an improved housing that includes traditional values.

---

*The excerpt comes from the speech given by President Nyerere on the celebration of Arucha Declaration's tenth anniversary.

B. Who Should be Responsible for the Renovation of Rural Housing?

The results showed that collective responsibility in the modernization process of the village is the most popular attitude of the respondents. Such a result should not be surprising if it is borne in mind that communalism is one of the most distinctive features of life in the village. Any member of African traditional societies usually did not exist outside of the collectivity. In the same way, any important action connected with group life was in the majority of cases carried out through collective participation. Thus collectivism is not a new value for rural people.

But collectivism was not a simple cultural value; it primarily was a social philosophy thanks to which villagers could unite in their daily struggle for survival against a hostile nature. Today the enemy is different, but still present. Rural people must fight poverty in the hostile environment of a money economy. Hence, once again, they must unite, and they know it. However, collective effort, no matter how efficient it is, is not able to solve financial problems when the actors are economically deprived. This is the reason why the majority of the respondents, after having acknowledged their part of responsibility in the renovation process of their village, asked the government for some assistance.

5. Summary

The most significant findings of the study are the following:

1) In general, rural viewers see TVE as an homophilous institution or one that they can identify with. According to 59% of them, TVE treats situations that exist in the villages, and 94% believe that TVE is truthful.

2) Apparently the adaptation of traditional housing to modern life where both Western and local values are harmonoiusly combined seems to be the

most popular attitude of TVE rural viewers. But in reality, as it was argued later in the paper, a total adhesion to Western style of housing is likely to be the most popular attitude.

3) Most of the viewers (53%) are aware of the objectives of the housing program series.

4) TVE rural viewers (82%) conceive of the responsibility in village modernization as a collective one, with the following specifications:

(a) those with local political power (village and neighborhood chiefs) tend to have a more collective conception of the responsibility in village modernization than ordinary citizens who rather emphasize the role of the government.

(b) those with traditional occupations (peasants, housewives, etc.,) tend to rely more on the government than those with modern occupations (civil servants, extension agents, etc.).

5) The majority of TVE rural viewers (55%) would like to finance their housing on their own, if they could afford it, because they do not feel comfortable with credit policies. However, those who hold local power (village or neighborhood chiefs, political leaders) tend to prefer credit, while ordinary citizens tend to stay away from it.

6) The majority of TVE rural viewers (55%) accept the intervention of rural development agencies in village modernization. However, those with less schooling have a slight tendency to reject such an intervention than those with more schooling.

7) Few people (5%) apply much of the advice of TVE, while the majority (73%) put little of the advice into practice. However, those with rural occupations (peasants, housewives, etc.) tend to apply the advice more than those with modern occupations (civil servants, extension agents, etc.).

6. Recommendations

The study shows that TVE rural viewers are generally willing to improve their housing. If they do not succeed in translating such aspirations into practice, it is usually because of considerations beyond their control. First, it is difficult, in a cultural context strongly influenced by Western experience, to expect rural people to remain proud of traditional architectural values. Modernism in the Ivory Coast has too strong a demonstration effect to be resisted by rural people. As a result, even though they cannot afford modern Western housing, rural people aspire to it. Second, even if rural people sincerely had a positive attitude about rural housing adapted to modern life, they still would not be able to afford it.

For these reasons, one way to implement a successful policy of improved housing in rural areas should include the following conditions:

1) The government and the elite class should give concrete examples of their inserting local values in their modern life and specifically in housing throughout the country.

2) The government should create a Housing Corporation to which will be given the monopoly of housing construction in rural areas.

3) The Housing Corporation should work together with a Unit of Research specially created to investigate methods of improved housing based on local values and needs. This idea is not new in the Ivory Coast, for several years ago, a national committee was set up to undertake specific studies about rural housing and make concrete suggestions. Unfortunately, nothing was done, and besides, the matter is too important to entrust layment with it. A specialized Unit of Housing Research is necessary.

4) In order to make the housing accessible to rural people, the government should create a Housing Bank, the role of which will consist of

making substantial loans. This idea too is not new. In fact, in 1965, SO.GE.FI.HA (one of the most important housing management and financing corporations in the Ivory Coast) implemented a rural housing policy thanks to which village members used to receive construction materials that they paid back later on. But in 1971, this policy was cancelled, and now rural people experience a less favorable financing policy. Through a housing bank policy, village members will have the opportunity to build improved houses without too much financial trouble.

REFERENCES

Benveniste, Annie. L'Action d'animation entreprise pour encadrer la reception du programme d'Education Télévisuelle Extra - Scolaire en Côte d'Ivoire. Master's Thesis. Stanford University, 1976.

Campbell, D.T. and J. C. Stanley. Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research. Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1972.

Fritz, Ruediger. Le Public Atteint par Télé Pour Tous. Abidjan: Service d'Evaluation, 1976.

Grant and Seya. Visits to twenty-three villages to determine the impact of the "Water" series produced by the Out-of-School TV Department. Abidjan: Evaluation Service, 1975.

Lenglet, Frans. The impact of 25 Television programs on "Water" produced and broadcast by the Ivorian Out-of-School Education Project. Abidjan: Evaluation Service, 1976.